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for describing all its manifestations; the 'par-nassiens' are indebted to him for the revelation of the plastic value of words; and the 'symbolists' and 'décadents' for the intuition of word-music and delicate harmony of sound and idea."

The revival of many old words long since passed out of use, and their introduction into modern literature; the new meanings given to familiar words and the new relations established between them; the countless new images created with a power far superior to that of any other French writer: the enrichment, by these means, of the language without doing it violence or departing from correct usage; in short, the invention of a style which was nothing less than a revolution in the French language—all this was undeniably achieved by Victor Hugo. To close with the words of an eminent critic of the day:

"Less original in thought and feeling than Lamartine, de Vigny, and Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo is more original in style than Lamartine, than de Vigny, than Chateaubriand, than Rousseau, than Mme de Sévigné, than Racine; and I only pause before the name of Lafontaine. He has created for himself a manner of diction in a language which had been existing as a literary language for four centuries, and which had been regenerated at least three times. It seems like a miracle!"

A. LODEMAN.

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THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLIEST Portuguese Lyric School with the Trouba- dours and Trouvères.

In his valuable treatise entitled *Ueber die erste Portugiesische Kunst- und Hofpoesie*, which was based on the study of the four hundred and thirty-seven Portuguese lyric poems then accessible in Varnhagen's edition of the Lisbon codex¹ and Moura's *Cancioneiro d'El-Rei D. Diniz*,² Diez, inquiring into the traces of Provençal influence on the Galecio-Portuguese poets, remarks:

"It will, however, hardly be possible to point out, in the productions of this poetic school thus far edited, poems or passages imitated or translated from the Provençal."

¹ *Trovas e Cantares de um codice do xiv seculo* publicados por F. A. de Varnhagen, Madrid, 1849.

² Paris, 1847.

Though the respectable body of one thousand six hundred and thirty-three poems has since become accessible through the publication of the two Italian codices,³ the opinion expressed by Diez in 1863 has lost comparatively little of its validity.

How, it is natural to ask, are we to explain that while the employment of certain poetic compositions and devices, and the terms assigned to them, are unmistakable proofs of the Provençal influence, the Portuguese poets do not appear to have closely imitated or reproduced either the structure or the contents of Provençal or French poems?

The constant state of unrest and unsafety in which the new kingdom of Portugal was kept during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century by its incessant wars against the Moors and its Christian rival states Castile and Leon, did not permit the Portuguese kings and nobles to indulge in that life of ease and pleasure which is indispensable to the cultivation of music and song, and which alone could have tempted the foreign troubadours to visit their castles.

While we know that Count Philip of Flanders, one of the most famous knights of his time and a warm friend of the trouvères, on his second voyage to Palestine in 1177, visited the court of King Alphonse Henriques, whose daughter Theresa he married in 1181;⁴ that the second king of Portugal, Sancho I (1185-1211), maintained at his court two French minstrels,⁵ and that the infante Pedro of Aragon, who in the same year ascended the throne as Pedro II, in 1196 came to Coimbra to make peace between Portugal and Castile,⁶ on which visit, enthusiastic and liberal friend of the troubadours as he was, he may have been accompanied by Provençal or Catalan singers, we have no evidence of the stay of any Provençal troubadours in Portugal, nor is this

³ *Il Canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca vaticana*, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci. . . . Halle, 1875.

Il Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti, pubblicato nelle parti che completano il codice Vaticano 4803, da Enrico Molteni. Halle, 1880.

⁴ A. Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, i, p. 454.

⁵ Mrs. Vasconcellos, in: *Grundriss der roman. Philologie*, ii, p. 172.

⁶ Herculano, l. c., ii, pp. 70-1.

country ever alluded to by them.⁷ It is well-known, however, that a number of the most prominent troubadours visited the neighboring courts of Castile and Leon from which latter kingdom Portugal had sprung.

At the court of Alphonse VII of Leon (1126-1157) we find Marcabrun⁸ and Peire d'Alvernia (1157-8)⁹

Alphonse VIII of Castile (1158-1214), celebrated for his liberality, was visited by Aimeric de Pegulhan, Gavaudan, Guiherme de Cabestanh, Guiraut de Bornelh, Guiraut de Calanso, Peire Vidal, Peire Rogier, Rambaut de Vaqueiras, Ramon Vidal, Savaric de Mauleó, Uc de Mataplana and Uc de S. Circ.¹⁰ As one of the five languages which Rambaut de Vaqueiras employed in the descort written between 1195-1202 at the court of Boniface I,¹¹ was in all probability intended to be Portuguese,¹² he must have been in contact with Gallego-Portuguese poets previous to 1194. Ramon Vidal, again, quotes in one of his poems a few lines which he attributes to a Castilian trobador. As we know that the Castilian trobadores of the time used the Galician dialect for their lyric compositions, and a portion of the passage in question has every appearance of belonging to that idiom, we are justified in assuming that these lines were meant to be Galician rather than Castilian.¹³ In connection with several other circumstances to which attention has been called elsewhere,¹⁴ the

⁷ Excepting Marcabrun and Gavaudan. Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, *ibid.*, and Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, p. xxiv.

⁸ Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, vi, p. 123 seq. where Alphonse VIII must be corrected in Alphonse VII; Milá y Fontanals, *Los Trobadores en España*², p. 83.

⁹ Cf. Milá y Font., *ibid.*, p. 81.—Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c. p. 174) represents Aimeric de Pegulhan as having been at the court of Alphonse VII, but gives no proof for her statement. Nor is there any. A. de Pegulhan flourished between 1205-1270 (cf. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*², pp. 342 seq.; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 226), and was present at the battle of Las Navas in 1212. That he composed songs in praise of Alphonse VII (†1157), is therefore highly improbable.

¹⁰ Cf. Milá y Font., *ibid.*, pp. 122-132.

¹¹ O. Schultz *Die Briefe des Trobadors Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, pp. 119-120.

¹² Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., p. 542; Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c. p. 173, note 1.

¹³ Cf. Milá y Font., l. c.; Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c.

¹⁴ *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*. pp. xxv-xxvii.

occurrence of Portuguese verse in the instances cited seems to show that the beginnings of the Gallego-Portuguese lyric school cannot have been later than 1175.

We know of at least one Gallego-Portuguese poet who was at the court of Alphonse VIII of Castile, and took a prominent part in the battle of Las Navas in 1212, at which most of the troubadours named above were present. This is Rodrigo Diaz de los Cameros,¹⁵ who in the Index Colocci is credited with three poems which have not been preserved to us.

At the court of Alphonse IX of Leon (1188-1230) we find Elias Cairel, Guilherme Ademar, Guiraut de Bornelh, Peire Vidal and Uc de S. Circ.¹⁶ These poets must have exercised a considerable influence on the development of the Gallego-Portuguese court-poetry since they met here a number of Portuguese noblemen, whose poetical compositions have partly been preserved to us. In consequence of the iniquitous policy of Alphonse II of Portugal (1211-1233), D. Gil Sanches, an illegitimate son of Sancho I; D. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, with his three brothers D. Garcia Mendes, D. Joam and D. Fernam Garcia, belonging to the most powerful family in Portugal at that time; Abril Peres de Lumiares, Martim Sanches and several others fled to Alphonse IX of Leon, remaining at his court until their reconciliation with the Portuguese king in 1219.¹⁷ Of D. Garcia Mendes D'Eixo, we have (*Canzoniere Colocci-Brancuti*, 347) a poem in Provençal, wherein he expresses the wish of returning to his ancestral home, Sousa.¹⁸ In the refrain of one of the love-songs of D. Fernam Garcia (with the surname Es-garavunha), also of the Sousa family, we find the following two French lines (CB., 227):

¹⁵ Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., p. 126

¹⁶ Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., pp. 153-5.—Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c. p. 174, note 5) adds to these Aimeric de Pegulhan and Sordel, without giving any reasons for so doing. Neither Diez (*Leben und Werke*,² p. 343) nor Milá y Font., l. c., nor P. Meyer (*Encycl. Brit.*,⁹, p. 874) speak of Aimeric as staying at the court of Alphonse IX or of dedicating poems to this king. As to Sordel, he is not known to have been in Spain before 1230, and none of his allusions to the kings of Leon refers, as far as I am aware, to Alphonse IX. (Cf. Schultz, *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, vii, 207-210.)

¹⁷ Cf. Herculano, *Hist. de Port.*, ii, 212 seq.; 435, etc.; *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores* i, p. 202.

¹⁸ Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c., p. 176 note 3.

Or sachiez veroyamen
Que je soy votr'ome lige.

Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon (1217-1252), whom his son Alphonse X, represents to us as a great friend of poetry and music,¹⁹ entertained at his court the Provençal troubadours Ademar lo Negre, Elias Cairel, Guilherme Ademar, Guiraut de Bornelh and Sordel,²⁰ the last one of whom must have been in Leon between 1237 and 1241.²¹ That Sordel's songs were especially esteemed and imitated by the Portuguese, we may infer from a direct mention of him—the only occurrence of the name of a Provençal poet in the Portuguese cancioneros—in a poem by D. Joam Soares Coelho, who according to Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 199, note 5), was a favorite at the peninsular courts, and doubtless met Sordel at that of Ferdinand III of Castile. Other Gallego-Portuguese poets who may, with more or less certainty, be considered as having been the guests of this monarch, are Affons' Eanes de Cotom,²² Pero da Ponte, who wrote a *planh* on the death of Beatrice of Suabia (†1236), and one on Ferdinand III (†1252),²³ and Bernaldo de Bonaval of whom, according to Alphonse X (*Canzoniere Vatic.*, 70), Pero da Ponte had learned the art of poetry.²⁴

A considerable number of Provençal and Gallego-Portuguese poets met at the court of Alphonse X (1252-1284), the most illustrious patron of science and art, and himself one of the foremost lyric poets of the time. To the former belong Aimeric de Belenoi, Arnault Plagues, Bertran Carbonel, Bertran de Lamanon, Bonifaci Calvo, Folquet de Lunel, Guilherme de S. Didier, Guilherme de Monta-

¹⁹ Cf. Milá y Font., l. c., pp. 153, 540.

²⁰ Cf. Milá y Font., l. c. p. 154-5; Diez, *Leben u. Werke* 2 p. 113; O. Schultz, *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, vii, p. 210.

²¹ Cf. O. Schultz, l. c., pp. 207-210.

²² According to a poem by Alphonse X (*Canz. Vat.*, 68), his literary legacy was wrongfully appropriated by Pero da Ponte.

²³ *Canz. Vat.*, 573 and 574.

²⁴ Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 199) says that the Genoese Bonifaci Calvo was knighted by Ferdinand III and that his two Portuguese songs were inspired by his love for Berenguela, the king's niece. There is no authority for this but the unreliable statements of Nostradamus. Cf. in regard to Bonifaci Calvo the investigations of Schultz, l. c., pp. 225-6.

gnagout, Guiraut Riquier and Nat de Mons,²⁵ to the latter, Affons' Eanes de Cotom, Gil Perez, Conde (CB., 405), Gonçal' Eanes do Vinhal (*Canz. Vat.*, 1008), Joam Vaasquez (CB., 423), Pero Gomes Barroso (*Canz. Vat.*, 1057), Pay Gomes Charinho (*Canz. Vat.*, 1159) Pero da Ponte, Pedramigo de Sevilha (CB., 423), Joham Bayeca (*Canz. Vat.*, 827) and Pero Mafaldo (CB., 387).²⁶

Very few are the occasions known to us on which the Portuguese must have become acquainted with the lyric poetry of northern France. With the two exceptions mentioned above (c. 208), we have no record of the sojourn of a trouvère in Portugal; but a number of Portuguese went to France either for the purpose of studying or for political reasons. Thus in 1211, Prince Fernando fled from his brother Alphonse II (1211-1223) to his aunt, the Countess Mathilde of Flanders, marrying Johanna of Flanders and returning to Portugal in 1226.²⁷ Domingos Annes Jardo, the chancellor of King Denis, had been educated in

²⁵ Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 173, note 3) mentions ten more troubadours as having either visited Alphonse X or dedicated poems to him, in regard to most of whom, however, the distinguished Portuguese scholar is in error. Neither the older nor the younger Bertran de Born could have been a contemporary of Alphonse X (cf. Diez, *Leben und Werke*, pp. 148 and 425; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 117). Of the latter we have a *serventes* relating to John Lackland, (Rayn., *Choir*, iv, p. 199) and a *tenso* with Dalí d'Alvergne (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 119, 7). Peire Vidal flourished between 1170-1215 (cf. Diez, *Leben u. Werke*, p. 125) and none of his poems refers to Alphonse X (cf. Bartsch, in his edition of Peire Vidal, p. 15). Uc de Escaura was a contemporary of Vidal, whom he addresses in the only poem we possess of him (Rayn., *Choir*, v, p. 220). Paulet de Marselha, as far as is known (cf. Diez, *Leben u. Werke*, p. 473; Milá y Font., l. c., p. 241), did not visit the Castilian court, and among his seven extant poems, none is dedicated to Alphonse, only one ("Ab marrimen"), mentioning him in connection with the imprisonment of Prince Henry. Bartolomé Zorgi, finally, whom Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 178) represents as having been at the Castilian court in 1269, was in Genoese captivity from 1266-1272. There is, as far as we know, no evidence that he was in Castile at all, nor does any one of his poems more than address in one passage King Alphonse in behalf of his imprisoned brother D. Henrique (cf. O. Schultz, *Zeitschr.* vii, p. 227-8).

²⁶ In my edition of the lyric poetry of Denis, Joam Ayra de Santiago is several times (pp. xxxiii, lxii, cxxxviii note 6) erroneously spoken of as a predecessor of Denis (see, however, *ibid.*, p. xl). In one of his poems (*Canz. Vat.*, 553) he appears to allude to Peter the Cruel of Castile (1350-1369) and to the Portuguese king of the same name.

²⁷ Herculano, *Hist. de Port.*, ii, pp. 142-3.

France and had taken his degree in canonical law in Paris.²⁸ Students of medicine went to Montpellier.²⁹ But far more important for our purpose is the fact that in 1238, if not as early as 1229,³⁰ Alphonse, a brother of Sancho II, went to his aunt Blanca of Castile, then the Queen-Regent of France, marrying in the same year Mathilde, Countess of Boulogne. During his sojourn at the French court, he was joined by a number of Portuguese nobles, who returned with him to Portugal in 1245. Prominent among these were Gomes Viegas, Pedro Ouriques da Nobrega, his son Joham Pires d'Avoym, Estevam Annes de Valladares and Ruy Gomes de Briteyros,³¹ the last three of whom are known to us as poets. In the brilliant circles of the court of Blanca of Castile, for whom Guillaume de Lorris had written the celebrated *Roman de la Rose* (1237), Alphonse and his followers must have been profoundly impressed with the literary culture of France, and it is to be supposed that through them many of the conceits and forms of French poetry became known in Portugal. As an instance of such influence may here be cited the *gesta de maldizer* (*Canz. Vat.*, 1080) of the Portuguese Affonso Lopes de Bayam, which is written in the form of the *laissez monorimes* of the *chansons de geste*.

From what has been said it will be seen that, as far we know, the intercourse between the Portuguese and the troubadours and trouvères did not take place in Portugal, but at foreign courts, and that it could, therefore, in most cases be neither intimate nor of long duration. It is owing to this circumstance and the materially different social and intellectual conditions of western Spain, that the Gallego-Portuguese lyric school, though called into life through the example set by the Provençal troubadours, received its most characteristic features not from the latter, but from the national popular poetry then flourishing in Galicia and Portugal.³²

²⁸ Cf. Moura, p. xv of his *Cancioneiro de D. Diniz*.

²⁹ The medical school of Montpellier is repeatedly alluded to in the Portuguese poetry of the time; as, for example, *Canz. Vat.*, 1116.

³⁰ Herculano, l. c. p. 367.

³¹ Herculano, l. c., p. 387-8.

³² Cf. Mrs. Vasconcellos, l. c., p. 180.

The almost primitive simplicity of form and feeling which this popular poetry imparted to most of the poetic types adopted by the nascent literary school, the predominating employment of compositions of only three short stanzas in which the expression of the same idea in three synonymous variations is typical,³³ did not allow the Portuguese singers the scope necessary for producing the highly wrought strophic forms or the development of thought of the Provençal canzone. If in addition to this we consider that the ambition of faithful imitation or reproduction was foreign to the medieval author and that the lack of individuality which marks the subject-matter of the great body of the love-poetry of that time, renders it exceedingly difficult and often impossible to trace a conceit occurring in two authors to its real origin, we must be prepared not to find in the Gallego-Portuguese song literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the number of more or less close imitations of Provençal originals which the powerful influence exercised by the poetry of the troubadours on the literature of other nations might lead one to expect, and the existence of which in the courtly lyrics of northern France has been shown by Paul Meyer³⁴ and A. Jeanroy.³⁵

That a more careful examination of the three Portuguese *cancioneiros* now accessible to us, and especially of the narrative and satirical forms contained in them, will nevertheless lead to the discovery of not a few compositions whose Provençal or French original is more or less clearly recognizable, may be inferred from the following few instances.³⁶

Immediately after the passage quoted at the beginning of this article, Diez cites part of the following two stanzas of a poem by Martin Soares (*Trovas*, no. 54=CB., 151):

Desta coyta en que me vos teedes
en que oj'eu vivo tam sem sabor,

³³ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 195; Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, pp. xlvi seq. and cxxxv seq.

³⁴ *Romania*, xix, pp. 14 seq.

³⁵ *De Nostratibus medii aevi poetis qui primum lyrica Aquitaniae carmina imitati sint*. Paris, 1889.

³⁶ A number of such correspondences are pointed out in my edition of the lyrics of King Denis.

que farei eu pois me vos nom creedes?³⁷
 que farei eu cativo pecador?
 que farei vivendo sempre ssy?
 que farei eu que mal dia nacy?
 que farei eu poys me nom valedes?
 E poys que des nom quer que me valhades,
 nem queirades mha coita creer,
 que farei eu, por des que mh o digades?
 que farei eu se logo nom moirer?
 que farei eu se mayas a viver ey?
 que farei eu que conselh 'i nom ey?
 que farei eu que vos desemparades.

After remarking that these lines recall the following passage of Uc de S. Circ (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 330):

Que farai ieu, domna, que sai ni lai
 Non puesc trobar ses vos ren que bo m sia?
 Que farai ieu, qu'a mi semblon esmai
 Tug autre joy, si de vos no'ls avia?
 Que farai ieu, cui capdella e guia
 La vostr' amors, e m siec e m fug e m pren?
 Que farai ieu, qu' autre joy non aten?
 Que farcei ieu, ni cum poirai guandir,
 Si vos, domna, no m voletz aculhir?

Diez concludes: "Aber die an den Stossseufzer geknüpften Gedanken sind andre, ausser etwa, dass *pois me vos non valedes* dem prov. *si vos no m voletz aculhir* entspricht."

Still, apart from the fact that the tone of the two poems is essentially the same, the regular repetition of the words *que farei* at the beginning of so many lines in both, leaves hardly any doubt that one must have served as a model to the other. This very Martim Soares, who was a contemporary of Uc de S. Circ, and noted as one of the best Portuguese poets,³⁸ uses the same artifice again (CB., 136), where most of the lines in the first and last stanzas begin with the negative *nem*. In a similar manner, Aimeric de Pegulhan (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, p. 429) begins five lines of the fourth stanza with *ni*. In both cases the poet utters complaints against the cruelty of his lady. The same beginning is found in the first three stanzas of a poem by Peire Cardinal (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 438-9) who (*ibid*, iv, 341-2) repeats the conjunction *e* in the first two stan-

³⁷ This line is wanting in CB.

³⁸ Cf. the note above CB., 116; and Lang, l.c., p. xxx.

zas, as does Martim Soares in CB. 131. As these Provençal poets flourished at the time when Martim Soares began his poetical career, we may not be so very wrong in supposing that he met them at one of the peninsular courts where they sojourned.³⁹ That Peire Cardinal, of whose visit to Leon or Castile we have no record, exercised some influence on the Portuguese poets, is shown by a *sirventes* of Martim Moxa⁴⁰ agreeing, as may be seen from the following extracts, in form as well as in subject-matter and expression, pretty closely with a poem by the Provençal troubadour especially celebrated for his satirical songs:

Vej 'avoleza
 maleza
 per sa soteleza
 o mundo tornar.
 Ja de verdade
 nem de lealdade
 nom ouço falar;
 ca falsidade
 mentira e maldade
 nom this dan logar.

Vej 'achegados
 loados
 de muitos amados
 os de mal dizer

Tant es viratz
 Lo mons en desmezura,
 Que falsedatz

³⁹ Cf. also Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Rayn., *Choix*, v, p. 401.

⁴⁰ This is his name as regularly given in Colocci's Index (*Canz. Vat.*, p. xxi) as well as over his compositions. Without giving us her reasons, Mrs. Vasconcellos (l.c. p. 190) calls him M. de Moxa and assigns to him the date 1330. In a *cantiga d'escarnho* by Joam de Gaya (*Canz. Vat.*, 1062) we read: Comede migu' e dar-vos-ey *cantares de Martin Moxa*. The insertion of *de* would violate the metre. In one of his compositions (*Canz. Vat.*, 503), M. Moxa rails at a certain Maestr 'Açenzo, who for selfish purposes joined the king's faction and was interested in the surrender of a fortress. This appears to allude to the struggle between Sancho II and his brother Alphonse and the betrayal of a number of fortified places to the latter, which form the subject of a number of satirical compositions (for example, *Canz. Vat.*, 1088, 1090, 1183; CB., 434). In the absence of any proof to the contrary, it would therefore seem tolerably safe to assign Martim Moxa to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

Es en luec de drechura,
 E cobeitatz
 Creys ades e melhura,
 E malvestatz
 Es en luec de valor
 E pietatz
 At d'hoste sofrachura,
 E caritatz
 Fai del segle clamor,
 Et es lautzatz
 Qui de dieu non a cura,
 E pauc preztatz
 Qui vol aver s'amor.⁴¹

Add to this a passage from another poem of Peire Cardinal:

Falsedatz e desmezura
 An batalha empreza
 Ab vertat et ab dreytura,
 E vens la falseza ;
 E deslialtatz si jura
 Contra lialeza ;
 E avaretatz s'atura
 Encontra largueza.⁴²

Both for subject and style, the following French motet (*Romania*, vii, p. 101) bears great resemblance to the passages just cited :

Ne sai ke je die,
 Tant voi vilonnie
 Et orgueil et felonnie
 Monter en haut pris.
 Toute cort(r) esie
 S'en est si fuie
 K'en tout cest siecle n'a mie
 De bons dis, etc.

A humorous poem in which the same troubadour discards love, begins: Ar mi pues ieu lauza d'amor.⁴³ This line opens a love-song of Martin Moxa's, (*Canz. Vat.*, 476), Amor, de vos ben me posso loar, and also the lai of Tristan and Iseu, CB., 1 :

Amor, des que m'a vos cheguey
 Bem me posso de vos loar.⁴⁴

Many a medieval lyric poet sounds a note of warning and complaint against the false

⁴¹ *Canz. Vat.*, 481; Rayn., *Choix*, iv, 350.

⁴² Rayn., *Choix*, iv, 338.

⁴³ Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 438.

⁴⁴ Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 316.

lovers, the *trichador*, *lausengier*, Portuguese *maldizente* (*Canz. Vat.*, 635) or *dizedor* (*Canz. Vat.*, 523)⁴⁵. This theme is treated by the Portuguese Joham Baveca, (*Canz. Vat.* 699) :

Os que non amam nem sabem d'amor,
 fazem perder aos que amor am.
 Vedes porque : quand 'ant 'as donas vam,
 Juram que morrem por ellas d'amor ;
 e elas sabem poys que nom é sy.

E por esto perz 'eu e os que ben
 lealmente amam segundo meu sen.

E aqueles que ia medo nom am
 que lhis faza coyta sofrer amor,
 veen ant 'elas e juram melhor
 ou tam bem come os que amor am.
 E elas nom sabem quaes creer

E por esto, etc.

This reminds one of Mathieu de Gand :⁴⁶

Dame, ceus qui sont faus dedens
 Et blanc dehors, ne creez mie ;
 Lor parole n'est fors que vens,
 Car là on cuide cortoisie,
 N'a à la fois fors trecherie ;
 Legierement croire est folie,
 Car teus dira à la foie :
 " Dame, morir croi por vos eus,"
 Qui point n'iert d'amors souffraiteus.⁴⁷

Thus Albertet, (Herrig's *Archiv* 34, 375) says :

Li tricheor q'i sen fegnent damar
 Font les leials agran dolor languir
 E les dames en font mult ablasmar
 Car amet cels qes gäbent al partir
 Donc sui ie fols qan ie ne sai fausar
 Ne pois uiuer mon dannaie ni plaigna
 Douza dame freit glaiues uos estaigna
 Si me faites de parfont sospirer.

and of Gaucelm Faidit :⁴⁸

Las falsas e'l trichador
 Fan tan que'l fin preyador

⁴⁵ The meaning "redegewandter, witziger kopf" which Mrs. Vasconcellos (l. c., p. 195) attributes to this word, is not justified by the context of the poem which she cites. *Dizedor* is plainly used in the sense of *maldizente*.

⁴⁶ Scheler, *Trouvères belges*.... Bruxelles, 1876, p. 131.

⁴⁷ Cf. also Quenes de Bethune, Scheler, l. c., p. 19; Gilbert de Berneville, Mätzner, *Altfrz. Lieder*, no. xxxi.

⁴⁸ Rayn., *Choix*, iii, 296.

An pois dan en lur baratz ;
 Qu'aital es preyars tornatz
 Tot per doptansa de lor,
 Que l'us en l'autre no s fia.⁴⁹

Another favorite subject of medieval love-poetry is the necessity of moderation, of measure, *mesura*, to every true lover, *fis amics*. This doctrine is the burden of two Portuguese poems, one by Joham Ayra de Santiago (*Canz. Vat.*, 541), and the other by King Denis (*Canz. Vat.*, 208). I shall here give the latter, as being the more characteristic :

Pero muito amo, muito nom desejo
 aver da que amo e quero gram bem,
 porque eu conheço mui entom e vejo
 que de aver muito a mim nom me vem
 tam gram folgança que maior nom seja
 o seu dano d'ela ; [e] quem tal bem deseja,
 o bem de sa dama em mui pouco tem :

Mais o que nom é e seer pod[e]ria,
 se fosse assi que a ela veesse
 bem do meu bem, [é que?] eu desejaria
 aver o maior que aver podesse.
 ca pois a nos ambos tiinha⁵⁰ proveito
 tal bem desejado, faria dereito,
 e sandeu seria quem o nom fizesse.

E quem d'outra guisa tal bem [desejar],
 nom é namorado, mais é sem razom,⁵¹
 que sempre trabalh'i por cedo cobrar
 da que nom servio, o moor galar[dom];
 asi⁵² e de tal amor amo mais de cento,
 e nom amo ãa de que me contento
 de seer servidor de boom coração ;

Que pois me eu chamo e são servidor
 gram treíçom s[er]ia se minha senhor
 por meu bem ouvesse mal, ou semrazom.
 E quantos bem amam, assi o diram.

As will be seen, several passages of this composition accord with parts of a *serventes* by Guilherme de Montagnagout (Herrig's *Archiv*, xxxiv, pp. 200-1), in the close of which this troubadour praises his patron Alphonse X :

⁴⁹ Cf. Bern. de Ventador, *Choix*, iii, 85. Daude de Pradas, *Parnasse occit.*, p. 86.

⁵⁰ hi bisuha] *Canz. Vat.*; viinha] CB.

⁵¹ l.s. from] *Canz. Vat.*, +] CB.

⁵² da hi] *Canz. Vat.*, dam] CB.

Nuills hom noual ni deu esser presatz
 si tant qant pot en valor no senten
 Com deu valer segon qes sa rictatz
 O sauida nonles mas aunimens
 Doncs qui ben uol auar ualor ualen
 Aia enamor son cor es esperanssa
 Caramors fai far rics faitz dagradaussa
 Efai uiure home adrechamen
 E dona ioi etol tot marrimen.

Mas eu non teing que sia enamoratz
 Cel qad amor uai ab galiamen
 Car non ama ni deu esser amatz
 Cel que sidonz prec de nuill faillimen :
 Camans non deu uoler per nuill talen
 Faich qasidonz tornes adesonranssa,
 Camors non es res mas aisso cauanssa
 So que ama eil uol ben leialmen
 Eq in qier als lo nom damor desmen.

Pero anc mi nom sobret uoluntatz
 Tant qieu uolgues nuill faich descouinen
 Dela bella acui me sui donatz
 Nim tenria nuill plazer per plazen
 De ren calieis tornes auilimen
 Nim poiria perren dar benananssa
 De so calieis tornes amalestanssa
 Car fis amics deu gardar perun cen
 Mais de sidonz qel sieu enantimen.

Mas amans dreitz non es desmesuratz
 Enans ama amesuradamen
 Car entrel trop elpauc mesura aiatz
 Estiers non es mesura so enten
 Anz notz chascun aman ecar noi men
 Segur estei e fraigna falsa usansa
 Qeil fals aman menon la falsa amanssa
 Car qui dreich sec dieus tot ben li cossen
 Otart otemps siuals al finimen.

It is more probable, however, that some other Provençal or French poem, not known to us, may have inspired the poem of the Portuguese King.⁵³

One of the most original Portuguese poets, D. Joham Garcia de Guilhade, assures the lady of his heart that he prefers to live and further endure his anguish than be relieved of it by death :⁵⁴

⁵³ Similar sentiments are expressed by Aimeric de Sarlat, (*Choix*, iii, 386), Jehans le Fontaine de Tournai (*Mätzner, Altfrz. Lieder*, no. xxviii), Gilebert de Berneville (*ibid.*, no. xxxi) and by Italian poets such as Ranieri di Palermo (Nannucci, *Manuale*, i, pp. 51-2, etc.).

⁵⁴ *Canz. Vat.*, 36.

Quantos am gram coyta d'amor
e-no mundo qual oj'eu ey,
querriam moirer, eu o sey,
e averiam en sabor.
Mais mentr' eu vos vir, mha senhor,
sempre m'eu querria viver
e atender e atender.⁵⁵

Thibaut de Champagne (éd. Tarbé, 23, 15) professes the same sentiment in a strikingly similar manner:

Chascuns dist qu'il muert d'amors,
mais je n'en quies ja morir.
Miex aim sofrir ma dolors,
vivre, et attendre, et languir.⁵⁶

Vaasco Praga, de Sandim, declares in one of his songs, (CB., 73) that none but a madman trusts a woman:

E creo que fará mal sen
Quem nunca gran fiuz 'ouuer
En mesura d'outra molher,

and the same thought is developed in a poem by Joham Lopes d'Ulhoa (CB., 294):

Mays foym' ela ben falar e rjir
E falei-lh' eu e non a ui queixar
nen se queixou porque a chamey senhor.
E poys que me vyo muj coitado d'amor,
prougue-lhi muyt'e non m'ar quis catar.

Should the lines just quoted not have been suggested by some such passage as the following by Quenes de Bethune (Scheler, l. c., p. 19)?

Fous est et gars qui a dame se torne,
Qu'en lor amor n'a point d'afieiment:
Quant la dame se cointoie et atorne,
C'est por faire son povre ami dolent.

Rodrigu 'Eannes de Vasconcellos, one of the earliest Portuguese lyric poets, relates to us (CB., 314) a dialogue between himself and his lady-love, who, having been put in a convent, consoles her lover by saying that she is a nun only in appearance, not at heart. The first stanza, of which the other two are only graceful variations, may serve as an illustration:

Preguntey hũa don[a] en como vos direy;

⁵⁵ Cf. Pae Gomez Charinho, *Canz. Vat.*, 393.

⁵⁶ Cf. Aubouin de Sezanne, Wackernagel *Altfrz. Lieder u. Leiche*, no. 12.—Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, etc., pp. 318-319.

—Senhor, filhastes orden, e ja por en chorey.
Ela entom me disse: Eu non vos negarey
De com' eu filhei ordem, assy deus mi perdom:
Fez mh a filhar mha madre; mais o que lhe farey:
Trager-lh' [ei]eu os panos, mays nom o coraçom.

This is a later variation of the so-called nun-song, a sub-species of the woman's song which, as Jeanroy points out,⁵⁷ was very common in the French lyric poetry of the middle ages, and of which traces are found in modern times. From France, this poetic form passed into Italy⁵⁸ and, it is to be supposed, also into Portugal. If so, the poem in question proves once more that the importation of certain kinds of the woman's song from France into Portugal did not, as Jeanroy would have it,⁵⁹ begin with the return of Alphonse, count of Boulogne, to his native country in 1245, but that it took place as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Though I know of no foreign nun-song which might have served as a model to our poem, I have thought it proper to call attention to it here, as it is the only representative of its kind in the Portuguese *cancioneiros*.⁶⁰

Pedramigo de Sevilha, an Andalusian minstrel who, as we have seen (cf. above, c. 212) was at the court of Alphonse X, where he doubtless became acquainted with Guiraut Riquier, is the author of a *pastourelle* in the most refined literary form, such as it was cultivated in the courtly poetry of France, of the Provence and of Italy.⁶¹ On a pilgrimage to Santiago he meets, as he relates to us, the most lovely maiden he had ever seen. He asks her to accept him as her lover, offering her whatever present she might wish. She replies that by accepting his gifts, she might perhaps be the cause of grief to some other woman, who might call her to account for having estranged her lover from her. But for this fear, she adds, she might not be unwilling

⁵⁷ *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, p. 189.

⁵⁸ Cf. Jeanroy, l. c., p. 191.

⁵⁹ L. c., pp. 337 seq.

⁶⁰ An allusion to the same subject is, however, made by D. Joam de Guylhade, *Canz. Vat.*, 37.

⁶¹ Cf. Jeanroy. *Origines*, pp. 129-134, etc.

to accept his attentions. The poet then succeeds in persuading her to yield to his entreaties.

There is a French *pastourelle* which, though in the form of a pure dialogue with the typical

Quand' eu hun dia fuy en Compostella
en romaria, vi huna pastor
que poys fuy nado, nunca vi tam bela ;
nen vi a outra que falasse milhor.
E demandilhe⁶² logo seu amor,
e fiz por ela esta pastorela.

Dix' eu logo: [Mha] fremosa donzela,
queredes vos mim por entendedor?
que vos darey boas toucas d[e] Estela,
e boas cintas de Rrocamador,
e d'outras doas a vosso sabor,
e fremoso pano pera gonella.

E ela disse: Eu nom vos⁶³ queria
por entendedor, ca nunca vos vi

se nom agora, nem vos filharia
doas que sey que nom som pera mi
Pero cuid' eu se as filhass' assi,
que tal a no mundo a que pesaria.

E se veess' outra, que lhi diria,
se me dissesse ca: Per vos perdi
meu amigu' e doas que me regia?
Eu nom sey rem que lhi dissess' aly.
Se non foss' 'esto de que me tem'i,
nom vos dig' ora que o nom faria,

Dix' eu: Pastor, ssedes bem rrazoada
e pero creede, se vos nom pesar,
que nom est oj' outra no mundo nada,
se vos nom sedes que eu sabha amar;
e por aquesto vos venho rogar
que eu seja voss' ome esta vegada.

E diss' ela come bem ensinada:
Por entendedor vos quero filhar,
e pois for a rromaria acabada,
aqui du sã natural do Sar,
cuido se me queredes levar,
ir-m'ey vosqu' e fico vossa pagada.⁶⁴

⁶² *Demandi* = *demandei*. See Cornu, *Grundriss der rom. Philologie*, i, p. 802 note 2.

⁶³ Nos] *Canz. Vat.*

⁶⁴ *Canz. Vat.*, 689.

personages characteristic of this class of French poetry, in its train of thought as well as in its issue bears so close a resemblance to the composition of Pedramigo, that I am tempted to suspect him of having known it.

"Trop volentiers ameroie,
ancor soie je bergiere,
se loial ami trovoie."

"he belle, oies ma prière:
je vos ain pres a d'un mois."

"he biaux Guios, tien toi cois,
car je conois bien t'amie:
ne me moke mie."

"Marot, j'ai, se deus me voie,
toute autre amor mis arriere.
por toi li mes cuers s'otroie."

"et ke dirait Geneuiere
ke tu baisas ier trois fois?"

"ce ne fu fors que esbanois.
douce gorgete polie,
ne me moke mie."

"Guiot, se je le cuidoie,
mon chapelet de fouchiere—
par fine amour te donroie."

"Marot, je t'ain par Saint Piere
plus ke tot celles d'Artois."

"he, Guiot, se tu m'an crois,
dont moirons nos bone vie:
ne me mocke mie."

"Marot, blanche corroie
te donroie et aumoniere
volentiers, se je l'avoie."

"Guiot, ta belle maniere
ma fait ke t'ains, c'est bien droi

"Marot, c'est un dous otrois,
si que mes cuers t'an mercie.
ne me mocke mie."

"Guiot, laisse dont la proie,
si alons an la bruiere
faire ceu c'amors nous proie.
trop plus bel fait a l'oriere
de ces pres selons ces bois.
alons i dont, cuers adrois:
je sui tous an ta baillie.
ne me mocke mie."⁶⁵

Jeanroy⁶⁶ has already called attention to the

⁶⁵ Bartsch, *Romances et Pastourelles*, pp. 166-7.

⁶⁶ *Origines*, p. 329.

striking correspondence between the following refrain occurring in a song of D. Joham de Guylhade (*Canz. Vat.*, 30):

Os olhos verdes que eu vi,
me fazem ora andar assi,

and one in the Châtelain de Saint-Gilles:

En regardant m'ont si vair oil
doné les maus dont je me dueil.

A similar correspondence exists between the refrain, *Canz. Vat.*, 1062:

Vos avede-los olhos verdes,
e matar-m'edes con eles,

and a refrain in Raynaud, *Motets*, i, 75:

Quar bien croi que je morrai
Quant si vair oel traï m'ont.⁶⁷

The same poet, who treats the heroines of his woman's songs in a way entirely his own, represents one of his maidens as uttering a complaint over the decline of love and poetry in Portugal. As is well known, this was a favorite theme with the courtly poets of the thirteenth century (*Canz. Vat.*, 370):

Ay amigas, perdud' an conhocer
quantos trobadores no reyno son
de Portugal; ja nom am coraçom
de dizer bem que soyam dizer,
e sol nom falam em amor,
e al fazem de que m'ar é peor:
nom querem ja loar bom parecer.

Eles, amigas, perderom sabor
de vos veeren; ar direy vos al:
Os trobadores ja vam pera mal:
nom ha i tal que ja servha senhor
nem sol trobe per hũa molher.
Maldita seja quem nunca disser
a quem nom troba que é trobador.

Mais, amigas, conselho a d'aver
dona que prez e parecer amar;
atender temp' e nom se queixar,
e leixar ja a vo-lo tempo perder.
ca ben cuyd'eu que çedo verrá alguem
que se paga da que parece bem,
e veeredes ced' amor valer.

E os que ja deseparados som
de nos servir, sabud 'é quaes som;

67 Cf. Jeanroy, l, c.

leixe os dêz maa mor[te] prender.⁶⁸

The main idea of this composition may have derived from some such passage as the following.

Thibaut de Champagne (Tarbé, 98):

Philippe, je vous demant
Ce qu'est devenue amors.
En cest país ne aillors
Ne fait nus d'amer semblant,
Trop me mervoil durement
Quant ele demeure ainsi.

J'ai oi
Des dames grant plaint
Et Chevaliers en font maint.

Quenes de Bethune (Scheler i, p. 18):

Ja fu tels jors que les dames amaient
De leal cuer sans faindre et sans fausser,
Et chevalier large qui tout donnaient
Por pris et los et par amors amer;
Mais or sont il eschar, chiche et aver,
Et les dames qui cortoisies estoient,
Ont tot laissié por apenre à borser;
Morte est amors et mort cil amoient.

Again, the complaint expressed at the end of the first stanza of D. Joam de Guylhade, that the appreciation and praise of feminine beauty had departed from the world, a complaint to which the same poet devotes a whole cantiga d'amigo, was in all probability suggested by a doubtless familiar French refrain (Bartsch, *Romances et Pastourelles*, 10):

Tout li amorous se sont endormi:
Je suis belle et blonde, si n'ai point d'ami.
And if our poet ends by wishing evil to those who have turned away from love, this may not have been without thinking of one of a number of French refrains expressing the same sentiment, such as (Bartsch, l. c., p. 200.)

Margueron, honie soit
Qui de bien amer recroit.⁶⁹

The first stanza of a *pastourelle* by D. Joam d'Aboym bears so striking a resemblance to one by Guiraut de Bornelh as to lead one to

68 Similar literary variations of the traditional type of the woman's song are found in John Gower's ballads (Stengel, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, vol. lxx, pp. 14-5).

69 Similar refrains are given by Jeanroy, *Origines, etc.* p. 395; and G. Paris, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 55.

suspect imitation on the part of the Portuguese poet. Like his Provençal predecessor, he tells us that while journeying one day, he was attracted by the song of three maidens who were lamenting over the decline of true love⁷⁰ (*Canz. Vat.*, 278):

Cavalgaua noutro dia
per hun caminho frances,
e huna pastor siia⁷¹
cantando con outras tres
pastores, e non vos pes,
e direy-vos toda uya
o que a pastor dizia
aas outra[s] en castigo:
nunca molher crea per amigo,
poys ss'o meu foy e non falou migo.

(Mahn, *Werke*, i, 206):

Lo douz chans d'un auzelh
Que chantav'en un plays
Me desviet l'autr'ier
De mon camin, e m trays.
E justa 'l plaissaditz,
On fon l'auzels petitz,
Planhion en un tropel
Tres tozas en chantan
La desmezur' e'l dan
Qu'an pres joys e solatz.

One of the essential qualities of a true lover is reticence. He must not let anyone know who the lady of his heart is. This principle is the subject of a number of Portuguese songs. Thus Fernam Gonçalves de Seabra says (CB. 337):

Muitos vej 'eu que con mengua de sen
am gram sabor de me dizer pesar;
e todo-los que me veen preguntar:
qual est a dona que eu quero ben,
vedes que sandec' e que gram loucura:
nen catam deus nen ar catam mesura,
nen catam mi a quen pesa⁷² muit 'en.
Nen ar catam como perden seu sen
os que m' assy cuidam a enganar,
e [que] non o podem adevjnhar.
Mais o sandeu quer diga mal quer ben,
e o cordo dirá sempre cordura:
des y eu passarey per mha ventura,
mais mha senhor non saberam per ren, etc.

⁷⁰ Cf. Jeanroy, *ibid.*, p. 133.

⁷¹ *Canz. Vat.*,] sua.

⁷² Queor pela] CB., qnõ pesa] CV.

This recalls a stanza of Arnaut de Maruel (Mahn, *Werke*, i, p. 158):

Aitan se pert qui cuia plazers dire
Ni lausengas per mon cor devinar,
Qu' atressi ben e mielhs m'en sai defendre,
Qu 'ieu sai mentir e remanc vertadiers:
Tal ver y a qu' es fals e messongiers;
Car qui dis so per qu' amor avilzis,
Vas si dons ment e si mezeis trahis.

Martim Soares expresses himself in a way which reminds one of a passage in Thibaut de Champagne (CB. 133):

Muitos me veem preguntar.
mha senhor, a quem quero bem,
e nom lhis quer' end 'eu falar
con medo de vos pesar em,
nem quer' a verdade dizer,
mais juro e faço-lhis creer
mentira por vo-lhis negar.
E por que me veem coitar
do que lhis nom direi por rem,
ca m'atrev' en vos amar;
e mentr' en nom perder o sem,
nom vos en deveades a temer,
ca o nom pod' ome saber
por mim se nom adevinhar.
E se por ventura assi for
que m'er pregunten des aqui
se sodes vos a mha senhor
que am' e que sempre servj:
vedes como lhis mentirei:
d'outra senhor me lhis farei
ond 'aia mais pouco pavor.⁷³

Thibaut de Champagne (Tarbé, p. 45):

Aucuns i a, qui me suelent blamer
Quant je ne di à qui je suis amis,
Mais ja, Dame, ne saura mon penser
Nus, qui soit nés, fors vous qui je le dis
Couardement, à pavours, à doutance:
Dont puestes vous lors bien à ma semblance
Mon cuer savoir.

The last stanza of the Portuguese piece may be compared with one of Uc de Brunet (*Choix*, iii, p. 317), where the poet also says that in order to conceal his true love, he will pretend to love another:

Ja lausengier no l'en fasson duptansa,

⁷³ The same beginning and general train of thought is found in a composition by Pero d'Armea (*Canz. Vat.*, 677).

Qu'ieu n'ai vas els pres engienh et albire,
 Qu'ieu bais los hielhs, et ab lo cor remire,
 Et en aissi cel lur ma benenansa,
 Que nulhs no sap de mon cor vas ont es,
 Ans qui m'enquier de cui se fenh mos chans,
 Als plus privatx estau quetz'e celans,
 Mas que lor fenh de so que vers non es.

The leading thought of a poem by D. Joam d'Aboym (*Canz. Vat.*, 279), the trusty Chancellor of Alphonse III, and one of the partisans of this prince during his sojourn in France, is contained in the refrain:

Nom sabem tanto que possam saber
 qual est a dona que mi faz morrer.

This answers to a doubtless popular French refrain occurring in Baudouin de Condé (éd. A. Scheler, v. 2991):

Ja par moi n'iert noumée
 Cele cui j'ai amée.

In a cantiga d'amigo by Joam Lopez de Ulhoa (*Canz. Vat.*, 300), a maiden laments having lost her lover through her obduracy and resolves to comply with his wishes if he return:

Ja eu sempre mentre uyua
 for, uiuerey mui coytdada
 por que se foy meu amigo
 e fui eu hy muit' errada,⁷⁴
 por quanto lhi foy sanhuda
 quando se de mi partia.
 Par deus, se ora⁷⁵ chegasse,
 co el muy leda seria.
 E tenho que lhi fiz torto
 de me lh' assanhar doado
 pois que mhi o nom merecêra,⁷⁶
 e foy-sse por en coitado;
 por quanto lhi fui sanhuda, etc.

El de pran que esto cuyda
 que está⁷⁷ migo perdudo;
 ca se non, logo verria;
 mais por esto m' é⁷⁸ sanhudo,⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Canz. Vat.*] mui cerrada.

⁷⁵ *Canz. Vat.*] se ora se ora.

⁷⁶ *Canz. Vat.*] m'cera.

⁷⁷ *Canz. Vat.*] est.

⁷⁸ *Canz. Vat.*] estome.

⁷⁹ It will be noticed that in this poem the trochaic catalectic tetrameter is broken into two short lines, a form occurring about thirty times in our cancioneros, and, as is well known, common in the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alphonse X.

por quanto lhi fui sanhuda, etc.

The subject of this song, especially in the refrain, reminds one very strongly of an Old-French chanson de femme, of which the first two stanzas will be given here:⁸⁰

Lasse, por quoi refusai
 celui qui tant m'a amée?
 Lonc tens a a moi musé
 et n'i a merci trouvée.

Lasse, si très dur cuer ai!

Qu'en dirai?

Forsenée

fui, plus que desvée
 quant le refusai.

G'en ferai

droit a son plesir,
s'il m'en daigne oir.

Certes, bien me doi clamer
 et lasse et maleürée
 quant cil ou n'a point d'amer
 fors grant doucor et rosée
 tant doucement me pria
 et n'i a

recouvrée

merci: forsenée
 fui quant ne l'amai.

G'en ferai, etc.

D. Affonso Sanches, a natural son of King Dionysius, sings (*Canz. Vat.*, 17):

Muytos me dizem que servi doado
 huna donzela que ey por senhor.
 Dize-lo podem, mais, a Deus loado,
 poss'eu fazer quen quiser sabedor
 que non é ssi, ca, se me venha ben,
 non é doado pois me deu por en
 muy grand' affam e deseje cuidado.

The idea here expressed that suffering is the reward of love, is a favorite theme of the Provençal troubadours. Thus Richard de Berbezill (Mahn, *Werke*, iii, p. 36) says:

Qu' Oviditz ditz en un libre, e no i men,
 Que per sofrir a hom d'amor son grat.

And Perdigon (Rayn., *Choix*, iii, p. 344):

Ben aiol mal e l'afan el cossir
 Qu'ieu ai sufert longamen per amor,
 Quar mil aïtans m'en an mais de sabor
 li ben qu'amors mi fai aras sentir.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Published by Jeanroy, *Origines*, etc., p. 501, no. xxi.

⁸¹ Bartsch, *Romances et pastourelles*, iii, 33.

The same Portuguese troubadour represents the beauty of his lady to be such that if any one met her in the inferno, the joy of seeing her would make him forget all his sufferings (*Canz. Vat.*, 22):

Sabedor

soo d'atanto, par Nostro Senhor,
que s' ela uir e o seu bem parecer,
coita nen mal outro non poss'auer
e-no inferno se con ela for;
desy sey que os que jazem alá,
nenhu[u] delles ia mal non sentirá,
tant 'aueram de a catar sabor.

The same image, only with more minuteness, had before D. Affonso Sanches been employed by a French poet, Gautier d'Espinaus (*Herrig's Archiv*, xliii, 299):

Je seux ensi con cil ki est ou feu,
ou les armes sen uont por espurgier,
Ki airt toz uis et si ne sent dolor,
por la grant ioie kil en atent du ciel.
Por moi lo di ien souffre grant tristor,
Kensi pens ieu a sa tres fine amour,
Ke iai tous mals oblieis.
ie ne me plaing pais des mals.
si mont greueit
por la grant ioie ou ie bei.

D. Fernam Paez, of Tamalancos in Galicia, takes leave of his lady, reproaching her with indifference and faithlessness (*Canz. CB.*, 48):

Con vossa graça, mha senhor
fremosa, ca me quer' eu ir;
e venho me vos espedir
por que me fostes traedor.
Ca avendo-mi vos desamor
hu vos amey sempr' a seruir,
des que uos ui, e des enton
m'ouuestes mal no coraçom.

n very much the same manner, a Provençal troubadour sings (Appel, *Provenz. Inedita*, p. 294):

Tan fuy enves ma dona fis
que fina la trobei, senhors;
mas ara falh, sim brunezis,
per quieu m'en vau mudan alhors.

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MUTATION OF GENDER IN THE CANADIAN-FRENCH DIALECT OF QUEBEC.

As a slight contribution to the literature of gender-mutation, the following notes of examples occurring in the French dialect of Quebec may be of interest.

In assigning a gender to some of the words he has borrowed from the Indian, the French-Canadian halts between two opinions. Among the words of this class whose gender seems to vacillate are:

1. *Nigog*, or *nigogue*, a fish-spear. The word is in common use in the Acadian Gulf Region. Ferland (*Foyer Canad.*, 1865, p. 264), Taché (*Forestiers et Voyageurs*, p. 79), Le Moine (*Chasse et Pêche*, p. 258) make the word, whether spelt *nigog* or *nigogue*, masculine, but J. G. Barthe (*Souvenirs*, p. 118) has "La pêche au saumon au flambeau et avec la *nigogue*."
2. *Mocassin*. Dunn (*Glossaire Franco-Canadien*, s. v.), Marmette (*François de Bienville*, p. 263), Bourassa (*Jacques et Marie*, p. 91) and many others write the word as *mocassin* and make it of the masculine gender. Louis Fréchette (*Fleurs Boréales*, p. 44) uses this form also, but in the *Soirées Canadiennes* (1861, p. 177), we find "la légère *mocassine*," a spelling and gender known also from Chateaubriand.
3. *Tobogane*. Of this word the following forms with feminine gender are met with: *tobogane* (Dunn); *tabagane* (Ferland, *Hist. du Canada*, p. 113); *tabaganne* (Leclercq, *Relation de la Gaspésie*, 1691, p. 70); *Tabogine* (Lemoine, *Monographies et Esquisses*, p. 70). The masculine forms are: *tobagan*; *tobogan*.
4. *Wananish*, a trout found in Lake St. John. This word is spelt *oualamiche*, *walamiche*, *wananiche*, *wananish*, *wawanish*, *ouinaniche*, *winnoniche*, etc. The masculine gender is assigned it by Buies (*Le Saguenay*, p. 203), Lemoine (*Chasse et Pêche*, p. 26), but in the *Naturaliste Canadien* (Vol. viii, p. 77), the word is made feminine. Dunn notes the use of *argent* and *bol* as feminine, and of *dinde* as masculine. There seems to be a decided tendency to *femininize*.